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English colonization
ideas in reign of Elizabeth

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ENGLISH COLONIZATION IDEAS

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REIGN OF ELIZABETH,

BY

CURTIS MANNING GEER.

HISTORICAL DISSERTATION.

*Presented to the University of Leipzig for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.*

DANVERS, MASS. :

DANVERS MIRROR PRESS.

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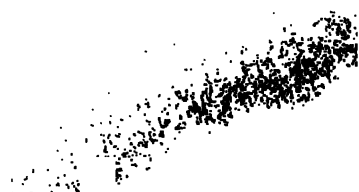
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PREFACE.

The object of this dissertation is not to give a history of American colonization nor even of the beginning of that movement. The investigation is confined mainly to the reign of Elizabeth, and there were no permanent settlements until the next reign. It does not even give the causes, political and religious, which were the immediate reasons for the permanent settlements. My object has been to go back of the successful movements to the prior work which made success possible; to trace the colonizing ideas back to their beginning and show the men and their motives. Many of these ideas, as it will be seen, were never carried out, but it is to the honor of these men that they began the work of agitation and colonization which continued unbroken till the English were firmly planted on American soil.

The importance of the subject is twofold: in the first place in showing the ruling ideas in regard to America in this period, preceding the colonization; and secondly, as showing the work of these men who were arousing general interest in America by their efforts and failures, which prepared the way for the future colonizers.

A word in regard to the sources. The effort has been made to gather the ideas from the words and writings of the men themselves, wherever they could be found. Of prime importance for this, are the collections of voyages made by Hakluyt, in which the men tell their own story. This work of collecting has been continued by the Hakluyt Society, which has issued up to the present, seventy volumes of early travels, bringing to us many works otherwise inaccessible and in many cases publishing manuscripts. The other works given in the lists of books (see next page) and printed in the reign of Elizabeth are only used incidentally as they reveal to us through letter or speech the thoughts of the men in question.

Leipzig, June 6, 1894.



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OUTLINE.

INTRODUCTORY.

England's share in American enterprise before Elizabeth's reign.

WHY COLONIZATION WAS CONSIDERED POSSIBLE AND ADVANTAGEOUS IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND.

Possible, from the increase in Wealth.—Advantageous, from the condition of the lower class.—What their condition really was.—Its causes.

NATURAL TO TURN TO AMERICA BECAUSE:

- (1) Their right to the county.
- (2) Its nearness to England.
- (3) Only known land still unoccupied.

INCREASING INTEREST IN AMERICA FROM:

- (1) The fishing industry.
- (2) The efforts to find the passage to India.
- (3) Spanish success in America.

THE MOTIVES IMPELLING TO COLONIZING WERE:

1 *Patriotic.*

- (1) To free the land from criminals and paupers.
- (2) To increase England's naval power.
- (3) To create a colonial power against Spain.
- (4) To increase trade.

2 *Philanthropic.*

- (1) Through Colonies to convert and civilize the Indians.
- (2) The poorer classes in England would be helped.

3 *Selfish.*

The desire for Gold.

From these facts we may deduce their idea of a colony.

CONCLUSION.

The immediate and ultimate results.



ENGLISH COLONIZATION IDEAS IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

The England of Henry the Seventh and the England of Victoria stand in sharp contrast with each other. And this contrast becomes still more remarkable if we compare the former with the "Greater Britain," the lands to-day ruled by the Anglo-Saxon.¹ The reason for this change is evident; it is because England in the course of these four hundred years, has become the mercantile and colonizing nation of the world. The nation accepted the destiny which was evident for it, from its location and natural advantages. It is the purpose of this paper to show the causes of the beginning of this colonizing activity as it showed itself in the reign of Elizabeth.

Introductory to this we may briefly sketch the relation of the English to America before the time of Elizabeth. The possibility of engaging in American enterprises came to the nation when Columbus sent his brother to Henry Seventh for aid, as he was seeking support for his first expedition.² But Henry was not ready to engage in any so doubtful enterprise, and so the honor of the discovery of America was lost to England. This monarch was, however, willing to listen to the Cabots and to grant them permission for their voyage, as it did not involve any outlay on his part, and if there should be any profit he was to share in it.³ The object was to conquer and colonize in the name of the king. Ap-

1 The lands under Anglo-Saxon rule at present are thirteen and one half times as great as those belonging to France, Germany and Austria together. Roscher. System, 1;724.

2 Winsor II, 3.

3 Ita tamen ut ex omnibus fructibus, proventus emolumentis, commodis, lucris, et obventionibus ex hujusmodi navigatione provenientibus præfatus Johannes et filii ac hoeredes et eorum deputati teneatur et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, toties quoties ad portu nostru Bristollicæ applicuerent (ad quem omnino applicare teneatur et sint astricti) deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessariis per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucris facti, sive in mercibus sive in pecuniis persolvere." From the letters patent to the Cabots. Rymer's *Fœdera* V, 89.

parently in the second voyage, the plan was to found a colony; the large number of men—three hundred—who sailed with the expedition is best accounted for on this supposition. But if this was the plan it failed to be carried out.¹ England was not ready for the accomplishment of so great an enterprise. The navy had not yet been created which was necessary to give permanence to such an undertaking; the king did not have the desire to engage in such work, and the nobles were not able to do it if they had wished to do so. Henry's policy had been to reduce their power and he had done it very thoroughly. It was largely through the nobility that the expense of this work was borne in the reign of Elizabeth as we shall see later. There was also the lack of the motives, which were so strong a hundred years later. There was no over population to compel the seeking out of new homes. The condition of the laboring class during his reign, on the whole, was favorable.² In short there was no strong reason why they should undertake American colonization as there certainly was a hundred years later. The new lands were known and claimed as the possession of the English, through the discovery and explorations of the Cabots, but this fact apparently excited no more general interest than it would today if some nation should explore and claim the regions around the South Pole. This statement holds essentially true for all the reigns before Elizabeth as far as any efforts toward claiming and colonizing the new country was concerned. There may have been trading expeditions and there was apparently an attempt at colonizing in 1527, but it is doubtful whether the expedition ever left England.³ We do not know how early the English fisheries began off the coast of Newfoundland, but certainly long before there were any serious attempts at colonizing.⁴

How little attention was paid to the subject of planting colonies in America, or even to the subject of American discovery,

1 The many obscure points connected with the Cabot voyages are discussed in Winsor III, Cap. 1.

2 Busch 1,273.

3 Palfrey 1:66.

4 An act was passed in 1548 for the protection of the fishermen. Palfrey 1,66.

is shown by the scarcity of books which issued from the London Press in the sixteenth century, especially in the first half of it, which treated of America in any form. Until 1553 there were only chance notices of the new country, and this is the more remarkable when we contrast it with the literary activity on the continent, and the actual settlements which had already been made in America, especially by the Spaniards.¹ This condition of affairs was greatly improved in the second half, especially in the last quarter of the century in which thirty-three books in English appeared which had America as their subject.² About half of these were translations of foreign works to be sure, but this showed a new interest in America. In short, England with the best claim of any nation to North America, let nearly a century go by without any serious attempts at colonizing it. And it was over a century before a colony was permanently planted. The cause of this is not difficult to see. What has been said of the time of Henry Seventh applies to the three reigns after him. Even if there had been the desire there was not the power to plant colonies. Home and European affairs were too deeply engrossing to allow any attention to be given to such a far off matter as America. Some of the time it was with England a struggle for existence, rent as she was by the long continued, bitter religious strife and threatened by France and Spain. England was one of the weaker nations of Europe, far surpassed by the gigantic power of Spain, and most of the time inferior to France. More than all England was lacking in that enthusiastic national life which came with the reign of Elizabeth and genuine Protestantism.

We may date this new interest in America in the middle of Elizabeth's reign; in such a matter naturally exact dates are out of the question. In order to understand this change of opinion we must endeavor to see what there was in the condition of the nation to product it. The nation as it was in the closing decades

1 For this point see Winsor III, 218. Here is given a full list of English books on America published in the 16th century. The only books before the time of Elizabeth written in English and devoted principally to America were two compilations and translations by Richard Eden.

2 Winsor III, 208.

of the sixteenth century is rightly called Elizabethan England. Through her wise rule, or what amounts to the same thing, through the wise choice of those who should rule for her, England had reached a degree of prosperity never before attained. New avenues of commerce were opening. The fleet was gaining in power continually. To England was coming the feeling of national unity and national life which would enable it to survive the tyranny and absolutism of the Stuarts. It has been rightly called the Golden Age of English literature, when Shakspeare and Spenser and Sidney and others like them were making England literally "A nest of singing birds." Great statesmen, like Burleigh and Walsingham, were making England strong. Heroes like Essex and Howard and Drake were building up its sea power which should make it conquer even the hitherto invincible Spain. In short it was a brilliant enthusiastic age ready to undertake new enterprises and able to carry them out. A nation in many ways in sharp contrast to what had been its previous career.

But unfortunately this was not all of England. This was only the side which we love to think of and which makes us proud of English history. There was another side, silent, unrecorded, of which we can only obtain glimpses occasionally and incidentally, a sharp contrast to the gay court, and the brilliant literary activity. There was a "Darker England" then as now and it was through this as well as through her wealth and marine power and the desire for new conquest that attention was turned toward America.

The trouble was that there were more people in the land than could be well supported under the system in vogue at that time.¹ The evil was one which was increasing daily. There had been beggars and tramps for generations in spite of the poor laws, but now the evil was becoming a threatening one. Unfortunately we

1 Of course the condition of the lower classes can here only be sketched in outline and only as far as it relates to the colonization question. Two writers have given us excellent works on the economic condition of England at this time. J. E. Thorold Rogers in his *History of Agriculture and Prices from 1259 to 1793*, six volumes, vols. 4 and 5 have to do with our period. The work is summarized in his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages, the History of English Labor*.

The second work is W. J. Ashley's, *An Introduction to English economic History and Theory*. The second volume was issued in 1893 and covers the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

have no correct census of the population of England at this time nor for two hundred years after it.¹ There is no way of knowing whether the population was advancing or not. Froude thinks that it was slowly advancing at this time. A rough census taken at the time of the Armada makes it something under five million.⁴ There is no reason to suppose that there had been any rapid advance before this time.² The words of some of the writers of the period give at first the impression that the population has rapidly increased, but a closer examination allows us to place another construction upon them. Haies speaks of the country as a "Land pestered with inhabitants,"³ another as a land overflow with population and Harrison relates that landlords complained because there were too many people in England. The early and improvident marriages contracted by the poor are often deplored.⁵ But we cannot conclude from this that the actual population of the country had increased, all that we are sure of is that there were more than the country could well support, and that the poverty and consequent crime was very great

1 Article "Census" in Enc. Brit.

2 Froude I, 3.

3 Harrison says, p. 280, that the muster taken in 1574 and 1575 gave the number of men able for service as 1,172,674 but that the number was in reality a third greater than this. These figures agree essentially with the enumeration of 1588.

4 In Hakluyt Navigations III, 143.

5 "And besides this [the betrothing of children by their elders] you shal have every saucy boy of X, XIII, XV or XX yeres of age, to catch up a woman and marie her without any respects how they may lyve to ge her with sufficient maintenance for their callings and estat. This filleth the land with such store of poore people, that in short tyme (except some caution be provided to prevent the same) it is likely to grow to great povertie and scarsness" Stubbs, p. 97. This might be taken as the excited words of a man who was anxious to make out a strong case were he the only witness; but sir Anthony Thorold writing to Lord Burleigh in regard to the new poor laws N. v. 6. 1589, (From Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her times), says "Another matter needful of reform is the early marryng of peasants and other poor people, having neither houses, lands, nor goods to lyve upon, which in short time must needs breed a monstrous swarme of beggars. Since I may remember were fewe of that sorte did marry until they were 30 years old or vere neare it, nor then except they were first provided of a house to dwell in, but now they marry under 20 having no regarde how to lyve nor where to dwell."

especially the crimes against property.¹ And the frequent changes of the poor laws, and the imprisonment, even death, for small crimes seemed to have no effect upon the amount of beggary and lawlessness. We have the testimony of a man living at this time that there was not an increase in population, but rather the reverse. To be sure his observation was only over a limited territory, but the facts which he describes were in operation all over the country, causes which had been in operation more or less since the time of the Conqueror, but which were becoming greater evils all the time. Harrison is one of the most trustworthy writers that we have in this period and he says, "It is an easie matter to proove that England was never lesse furnished with men than at this present,² for if the old records of every manour be sought, and search made to find what tenements are fallen, either down or into the lord's hands, or brought and united together by other men it will soone appeere, that in some one manour, seventeen, eighteen or twenty houses are shrunke. I know what I saie by mine owne experience, * * * of townes pulled downe for sheepe walks and no more but the lordship's now standing in them."³ This certainly indicates a decay of rural life, and that many who were only fitted by life and training for agricultural occupations were thrown out of employment and must find other work or join the ranks of the sturdy beggars.

As to the cause of the general depression and decay we may mention three facts which were prominent. Enclosures, monop-

1 Wm. Fleetwood recorder of London from 1569 to 1591 gives us in his letters many interesting pictures of London life among-t the lower classes in the days of Queen Elizabeth. A number of these letters are printed in Wright's Queen Elizabeth, others in Lodge's Illustrations of British History. Punishment for small offences was summary and severe judging from the following letter to Lord Burleigh July 7, 1581. (From Wright I. 345) "Uppon Fryday las'te, we sate at the Justice Hall at New Gate from seven in the morninge untill seven at night, where were condemned certain hors-stealers, cutpurses and such lyke to the number of ten, where of nine were executed and the tenth stay'd by a mesage from the counre. These were executed on Saturday in the morninge."

2 The first edition of his work was issued in 1577.

3 Harrison, 309.

lies and stagnation of manufacturing. These enclosures¹ were of two kinds; those for hunting and pleasure parks, and for sheep ranges.

It would hardly seem that the lands enclosed for hunting parks need be considered, but Harrison estimates that one twentieth of the land of the country was enclosed for deer and conies.² If this is even approximately true it was a matter of serious importance. But of greater weight was the turning of plowlands into pasture, so that land which before had supported a good sized village was now occupied only by a shepherd and his dog.³ And injury to the country was further increased by the fact that the wool raised from the sheep became more and more an article of export in its raw state.⁴

It can be seen from what has been said that the pressure of the population may have become greater all the time even when the actual number of the inhabitants was at a standstill or actually decreasing, simply because the lands accessible for agriculture were becoming less and less continually.

Another great evil of the time was the reckless granting of monopolies—this easy way which the Tudors had of rewarding

1 Of course the Enclosure Evil was nothing new for England. It dates certainly back to the time of William Rufus and down to our own time. Seefohn in his "English Village Community," p. 15 says that between 1760 and 1814 nearly 4000 private enclosures acts were passed. It was only more marked than usual in the period under consideration.

2 Harrison 307.

3 The evil of this system was well summed up by one of England's deepest thinkers: "Though it may be thought ill and very prejudicial to lords that have enclosed great grounds and pulled down even whole towns and converted them to sheep pastures, yet considering the increase of people, and the benefit of the commonwealth, I doubt not but every man will deem the renewal of former moth eaten laws in this point a praiseworthy thing. * * * inclosure of ground bringeth depopulation, which brings first idleness, secondly decay of tillage, thirdly subversion of houses and decay of charity and charges of the poor; and fourthly, impoverishes the state of the realm." From a speech of Sir Francis Bacon on the bill for the increase of Husbandry, Nov. 5, 1597. Hansard's Parliamentary History 1,899.

4 "The poore people thereof [of the towns] being not set on work by reason of the transportation of raw wool of late dayes more excessively than in times past." Hakluyt, Navigations III, 174.

their friends at the expense of the people.¹ Through these monopolies the necessities of life were greatly advanced, in some cases doubled,² and the money went into the pocket of some favorite. It seems strange to us to-day that these could be defended by men of the ability and statesmanship of Raleigh and Bacon. But the most that Raleigh could say in their favor was that through his, he had increased the wages of the people who were working for him,³ and Bacon's only argument in their favor was that the Queen had a right to grant them if she wished to.⁴ Both of these men saw the danger of the country and were strong advocates of colonization but did not seem to realize how much the unnatural system of monopolizing the necessities of life had to do with this condition of affairs. The fact that they were both sharers in the benefits of monopolies may have had something to do with it.

The decay of the small manufacturing industries in the towns has been already referred to. This would be brought about by the system of monopolies, and by the export of the raw material, and this was exported because the farmers could sell it more profitably abroad than at home. The manufacturers were feeling very strongly the competition of their Dutch neighbors especially now that the market was restricted by the closing of the sea passage to the Orient.

Perhaps enough has been said to show the need of some relief for England at this time by opening up new markets for her manufactures and by giving her a place where she might dispose of her surplus population. For the first time in the history of the nation both the necessity and the possibility of using the land

1 The debate in Parliament on Monopolies is very instructive as giving the actual condition of affairs and showing the thoughts of some of the leading men upon the subject. See Hansard I, 824-943.

2 In Lyme, salt rose under the monopoly from 8 to 16 d. per bushel. Hansard I, 930.

3 "Now I will tell you that before the granting of my patent—the poor workmen never had above two shilling a week, finding themselves. But since my patent whosoever will work may, and buy tin at what price soever, they have four shillings a week truly paid." From Raleigh's speech. Hansard I, 929.

4 Do. 930.

claimed in America were present. It was felt that relief must come through emigration and the only country which answered all the conditions was America. It was natural for them to think of settling here in the first place because of their right to the country. The division of the world, recently discovered or yet to be discovered, by Alexander VI between Spain and Portugal had never been recognized by the English as of any validity; and especially in a time so intensely Protestant as England was while Elizabeth was queen such a claim would not be regarded for a moment. The Cabots under commission from Henry the Seventh had discovered the mainland, explored the coast of the present United States and taken possession of it in the name of the king.¹ Their right was based upon the principle recognized at that time as valid that newly discovered lands belonged to the discoverer. The rights of the original occupiers of the soil were not at all considered. They were heathen and infidels and the charters of the Cabots,² the Gilberts,³ and Raleigh (they are similar) empower them to take possession of any lands that they may discover in the name of their sovereign provided that the land had not been previously discovered or settled by any Christian prince nor people. That a humane treatment of the Indians was intended by the men prominent in the colonization movement will be shown later in this essay, but even by these, they were treated as savages to be converted, rather than as the inhabitants of the country from whom the land was to be purchased. They were never treated as the equal of the white man.⁴

1 See Winsor III, Chapter I.

2 John Cabot and his three sons were given the right to seek out and possess "quascunque insulas, patrias regiones sive provincias gentium et infidelium quorumcunque in quacunque parte mundi positas, quae Christianis omnibus ante haec tempora fuerint incognitae." Rymer's Foeder, V, 89.

3 Adrian Gilbert's grant was to discover and settle the northern part of Atlantis, called Novus Orbis, not inhabited nor discovered by any Christians hitherto but by him. Cal. State Papers, Dom. June 1593.

4 The story of the contact of the white race and the Indians in America is a sad one from the beginning. It is the same story which has been always repeated when a sinking race comes in contact with a stronger one. The early settlers went far from the humane and wise treatment advocated by Hakluyt and Bacon. There were exceptions to this, notably the Quakers under Wm Penn and the French in Canada. The New England colonies happened to settle in a section recently made desolate by a pestilence and so did not have the Indian wars from the beginning as the Virginian colonies had.

A second reason why they turned their attention to North America was its nearness to England. This was spoken of by Richard Eden as one of the reasons why the English should take in hand the conversion of the Indians of this section of the country. It was their duty to do it because they were so near.¹ This fact also impressed Hakluyt as being greatly in favor of making a settlement here. These unpossessed lands were within six weeks sailing from England "and seem to offer themselves to us stretching nearer unto her Majesties Dominions than to any other part of Europe."²

A third reason was that this was the only part of America left open for them, providentially left as they thought.³ The Spaniards had the whole of Central and South America, the southern section of the present United States, and had even explored the Mississippi Valley. The French were already established in the country north of the land claimed from the Cabot discoveries. If they were to settle in the New World at all this was the place to which they must go. It is a well known fact in colonizing that a country is sought corresponding in climate and resources to the mother country.⁴ This condition was also met in the land which they claimed. The safety of the voyage was also an element of importance. It could be made without crossing the track of the Spaniards on their way to and from their American possessions, an important fact in these times of dispute for the mastery of the seas.

Most of these reasons had been good for many years. Why was it that at this time, the latter half of the sixteenth century, after the almost absolute neglect since the days of Henry VII new interest should be taken in America as a suitable place for colonizing? This came through the increased knowledge of the country, and this new knowledge was the result of a number of causes.

1 Eden's Decades, p. 25.

2 Diver's Voyage, p. 8.

3 Frobisher, Voyage, p. 5.

4 This principle is apparently contradicted in the settlement of the French to the north of the English in America, while their position in Europe is south of them. But the French in Canada were primarily fur traders. The natural place for them on the America continent was in Florida, between the English and Spanish, as they were in Europe. This where they actually did settle but were murdered by the Spaniards.

One of these was the fishing industry. From the nature of the case these trips were private enterprises and did not attract the attention which was aroused by the bolder and more interesting voyages of discovery. Fishermen by the nature of their work are not fitted to found colonies, in fact the interests of the English fishermen and the colonists in later years often came in conflict.¹ The fisheries of Newfoundland were successfully established years before colonization was seriously attempted. As early as 1548 under Edward VI an act of Parliament was passed to encourage the fisheries at Newfoundland.² It was looked upon later as a business which should be encouraged because it increased the number of mariners who "carry nothing hence but victuals and their return is great."³

The growth of this industry from the time of Edward VI to the arrival of the Pilgrims in 1620 has not yet been written, but if it could be, it would probably show one of the reasons why a knowledge of the New World was being spread through England. Undoubtedly as the fishermen came back to England, they told their friends of the boundless resources of the new land as they had seen it when they went ashore to repair their ships or cure their fish. Undoubtedly they contrasted the land almost without inhabitants with over crowded England. We have one interesting bit of information showing the condition in 1578. At this time we are told that the English had yearly fifty ships fishing there, the Spaniards one hundred, and the French and Britons one hundred and fifty. "The Spaniards are better appointed than the others except the English who were commonly lords of the harbor where they fish and do use the help of strangers in fishing if need be."⁴

The same purpose was served by the many voyages to find the north-west passage to the Orient. Some were undertaken merely with this object in view, others for trade in connection

1 See Journal of the House of Commons for Apr. 19, 1621, for the debate over the free liberty of fishing voyages

2 Paifrey 1:66.

3 Journal of House of Commons, Feb. 20, 1620.

4 A letter from Mr. Anthone Parkhurst, gentleman, to Hakuyt, *Navigations* III, 132.

with it. The northern part of North America was regarded as a group of large islands as the maps and letters of the navigators of the period show.¹ They would enter one of these passages, as they thought, between the islands and from ice or currents or lack of provision or other causes would be compelled to turn back as more than a hundred of their fellow navigators since then have been compelled to return from their unsuccessful attempts to find out the secrets of the frozen region. As we look at a modern map of North America, we see how this error was a natural one, indented as the coast is by great bays and inlets and passages which apparently lead through to the Pacific Ocean which was believed to be near. Our maps to-day carry the names of some of these men who were doing this exploring and unconsciously preparing the way for the American of to-day, by the knowledge they were bringing back with them of the country.² In the minds of these men there was no doubt about the passage,³ the only question was which of these bewildering Straits was the right one. Many of them thought that they had found it but were prevented from following out their discovery for one reason or another. These attempts were failures as far as accomplishing their immediate object was concerned. We know that the passage would have been practically useless even if they had found a passage north of North America, leading into the Pacific. But these voyages served a better purpose, they were educating a bold and hardy marine which should help England win and keep the supremacy of the sea. They were showing that the journey across the ocean was not a very long nor a very dangerous one. They were unconsciously preparing the way for England's future greatness as a colonizing and commercial nation, as pioneers in

1 For instance the map given in the 1578 edition of Hakluyt's Navigation or Mercator's "Mappa Monle" of 1569, in vol. 38 of the Hakluyt Socy. This subject of early American maps is treated fully by HARRISSE in his "Discovery of North America."

2 We have for instance, Davis Strait, Fox Channel named from "Fox of the Northwest Passage," Frobisher Bay, Cape Be-t (from one of Froberher's Captains who wrote an account of the voyages.)

3 Davis writes to Sir Francis Walsingham Oct. 3, 1585. The Northwest passage is a matter nothing doubtful, but at anytime almost to be passed, the sea navigable, voyd of yse, the ayre tollerable and the waters very depe. Wright. Queen Elizabeth and her times II, 263.

these over sea journeys. These voyages had certainly a strong influence in showing to the English that it was useless for them to live as they did while these rich lands were unpossessed.

There is still another important fact which turned the attention of England toward America—the success of the Spaniards. It was to be sure before the days of newspapers and telegrams, but it was the policy of every European Court to know the business of every other Court. The state papers of the period reveal this fully and it is doubtful whether a more skillful man in finding out what it was intended that he should not know ever lived, than Walsingham. Especially at this time when Spain was coming more and more to be the great rival of England and of protestantism any element which contributed to make Spain more powerful would be carefully watched. The wars in the Netherlands, and the wars before then had cost immense sums of money, yet Spain was able to carry on these through the apparently boundless wealth brought in from the colonies. No one knows how much was annually brought into the port of Seville, but the English knew that the amount was very great from the ships which the English privateers captured. It is told that in one case a ship was captured which furnished three million dollars' worth of booty according to the Spanish estimate. This wealth did not fail of having its effect on the English, especially as it was known how easily this wealth was obtained and how easily the country had been subdued. It was at the time of Spain's greatest prosperity. With the expulsion of the Moors and the union of Castile and Arragon, Spain emerged from the middle ages and became a modern nation; not only that, but for a hundred years the greatest of the modern nations.

A part of its energy and enthusiasm turned toward the conquest of the New World. The story of the conquest of Mexico and Peru is one of the romances of modern history. Nothing could stand before Cortes and Pizarro and their handful of Spanish troops. These soldiers trained on the battlefields of Europe, and not surpassed by any army in existence, swept every thing before them. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, practically the whole of Central and South America was in their power, conquered but

by no means colonized.¹ This latter process was a slow one, owing to the men who were doing the work. They were thorough conquerors, but to colonize in the sense of the Athenians or Carthagenians was not in their line of work. They were working not simply for gold but for some opening against the infidels, and for some opportunity to advance the glory of the Spanish Arms.² America was a field in which they might win more fame now that the Moors were finally driven from Spanish soil—they might also win some much needed gold. No doubt there was also the desire to convert the infidels. It may be hard for us to think of these expeditions in which these inhuman and wholesale butcheries of the Indians were carried on as having anything to do with religion, but these men were Spaniards and we have only to think of the Inquisition in Spain and the Netherlands and the Society of Jesus all over Europe (both the Inquisition and Society of Jesus were transplanted to America) to see how natural such a method of work would be. These conquering expeditions had always the missionary priest with them and the country was christianized as fast as it was conquered. The conversion to be sure is very suggestive of the way in which Charlemagne converted the Saxons³, but these were undoubtedly some who were deeply devoted to the good of the natives⁴. Their work good or bad was so thoroughly done that the Indians of Central and South America today are still Catholics. But the great motive was the gold which was found in such great quantities, and one reason why England turned toward America was that she might have a similar source of supply. In this consideration of the influence of other nations upon England in forming her ideas of colonizing, Spain is so prominent that others need hardly be taken into consideration. Portugal to be sure settled in America long before the English.

¹ The standard works still continue to be Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico" and his "Conquest of Peru." The results of later investigations may be found in Vol. II of Winsor's History.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, p. 3.

³ Hakluyt thinks their religion only a cover for other designs. But allowances must be made for an Englishman of such thorough-going patriotism. See his *Divers Voyages*, p. 13.

⁴ The work of Las Casas amongst the Florida Indians shows us that a Spaniard could be a devoted christian missionary. See Winsor II, chap. 5.

Portugal properly had no claim to America¹, and its power was on the decline before the English began to think strongly of colonizing. It was in general like the Spanish and through the nearness of Brazil to Africa, negro slavery was early introduced. After the union of Portugal with Spain in 1580 we may consider Brazil as practically a Spanish province in the period under consideration.

Neither does the English nation owe much to the French. At this time they were, to be sure, established on the continent but rather as fur traders than as colonists. It was not until Colbert had given his mighty impulse to French industrial and commercial life that Louisiana and Canada rose into importance. But at this time—after the middle of the next century—the English were already well established. The exception to this was the Huguenot refugee colony established in Florida under the influence of Coligny and afterward destroyed by the Spaniards. It was through this that Raleigh's attention was called to America, and as a result the first colony in Virginia was planted.

Thus far it has been endeavored to show that England needed the relief which could best come through colonization, and why her attention turned naturally more and more toward America as the proper place for colonies. After a word about the men who were foremost in the movement, we may examine somewhat thoroughly the motives impelling these men.

A striking feature in regard to these men who were foremost in urging colonization is, that they were taken from all ranks and occupations in life. Many of them are famous for other services which they had performed for England. We can only notice some of those who come more prominently in view. The man to be mentioned first is Richard Hakluyt, a preacher of the church of England, but known to us principally through his efforts

¹ The Portuguese were the great navigators of the fifteenth century but their activity was directed largely toward the West African coast. Their claim to Brazil was based upon the line of demarcation established in the treaty of Tordesillas by Alexander VI by which the world 350 leagues west of the Azores and in longitude from pole to pole should belong to Spain. The remainder of the world to be discovered should belong to the Portuguese. Under this they claimed Brazil. See HARRISSE, *The Discovery of America* p. 50.58.

to turn attention toward America. It seems to the writer that to him more than any other man we owe the English settlement of America.¹ His books were numerous and his whole object seemed to have been to spread a knowledge of the geography of America and increase an interest in it. His object was to further the sending out colonies of actual settlers who should go not to search for gold but to found homes.²

The man who comes next in importance is a sharp contrast to the quiet, studious preacher. Sir Walter Raleigh is the man more commonly connected with early colonization than any one else. He was the man of dash and energy and action, while Hakluyt was the quiet, faithful worker, continually working away at this one point. Hakluyt was, through his years of toil, educating the nation into the value and need of colonizing. Raleigh, who was brilliant in what ever he did, made an effort to carry these thoughts out and failed. Certainly men of both kinds were needed, but in estimating the value of the work of these two men, we must remember that there were many who were willing to work in the spirit of Raleigh, but few willing to go through the patient drudgery which Hakluyt found necessary in gaining his information. Raleigh was the soldier and courtier living fully in the spirit of the Elizabethan Era.³

With Raleigh may be mentioned his relative Sir Humphrey Gilbert, one of England's finest seamen, who went down off the coast of Newfoundland where he had vainly tried to plant a colony, with the well known words on his lips, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." Here might also be mentioned Fro-bisher, the half pirate, but excellent commander and thorough Englishman, who added much by his three voyages to the knowl-

1 A full biography of these men cannot be attempted here. There is a good article on Hakluyt in the dictionary of National Biography. A much fuller account of his life is in the introduction to "Divers Voyages" written by John Winzer Jones.

2 His views are summoned up in the epistle dedicatory to Sir Philip Sidney in his "Divers Voyages."

3 Raleigh's biographers were numerous as would be natural for a man of such manifold activity. The best for our purpose showing especially his work in regard to America is Schomburgk's introduction to Raleigh's "Discoverie of Guiana" published by the Hakluyt Society.

edge of the new world and interest in it,¹ John Hawkins who has the unenviable reputation of introducing slavery into America but who was, after the manner of the times, a pious man,² and Philip Sidney the poet and courtier. Other seamen and statesmen might be mentioned like Walsingham and Francis Bacon and Drake. In fact men in every department of life from one motive or another. While there were of course the thoughts and plans peculiar to the individuals there were some wishes that were common to all who were prominent in the movement, because they were Englishmen and they saw in the settlement of the new land a means of advancing the power and wealth of England. What these principal motives were we may now inquire. The following classification and treatment is not intended to cover everything, but is believed to be a fair survey of those which were most important.

As a matter of convenience we may divide these ideas into three classes. These are not entirely mutually exclusive but will in the main be found to hold good. These classes of motives are those coming from patriotism, philanthropy and self-interest. It was the period in which the first of these motives was especially prominent in the English people and was showing itself in many ways. The religious strifes were becoming subordinate to the feeling of united national life.³ The nation was advancing rapidly in many directions through the far sighted policy of those who had the government in their hands and the needs of England—a serious drawback to her prosperity—as before described did not fail to attract their attention. It had been shown (pp 20 ff)

1 See the Hakluyt Society edition of "The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher."

2 His sailing orders closed with "Serve God daily; preserve your victuals; beware of fire and keep good company."

In one of his incursions upon the Guinea coast they were almost destroyed by the negroes as they deserved to be. Hawkins narrates the adventure with this comment: "God who worketh all things for the best would not have it so, and by him we escaped without danger. His name be praised for it!" From E. E. Hale in Winsor III, 59.

3 In the defeat of the Armada and in the various attempts against the Queen's life, the people forgot that they were Protestant and Catholic and rose as a unit against the common danger.

that England had more people than at that time she needed or could well dispose of; and that of this number the criminal element and the very poor were the most troublesome. The new country was looked upon as the proper place for disposing of these.¹ If this were done they would be still under English law and under the new circumstances become good citizens and useful to England. Emigration to a foreign country as the Pilgrims went some years later to Holland would decrease the strength of the mother country and increase that of some rival. Hakluyt, who was carefully watching the colonizing schemes of other nations, was in favor of this way of disposing of the criminals because he had seen it work successfully in Brazil² which was now a prosperous colony although the beginnings were so unfavorable. The attempt was made to carry this project of transporting prisoners into practice as early as the unsuccessful colonization voyage of Frobisher in 1577, but fortunately for the future colonists the efforts were unsuccessful and for some reason which has not been given us he did not take the condemned prisoners with him, which he was to leave on the island of Friesland but left them in England³. This policy of establishing a penal colony was never fully carried out until England used Australia for this purpose. What the result would have been had England succeeded in establishing Virginia as a penal colony it is hard to say. Probably the evil would have gradually been outgrown. Undoubtedly English law and institutions would have finally

1 "Also we might inhabite some part of those countryes, and settle there such needy people of our country which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are enforced to commit outrageous crimes whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallows". See Humphrey Gilbert in Hakluyt's Navigators, p. 22.

2 The country was first planted by such men as for small offences were saved from the rope. Divers Voyages p. 10.

Apparently the Portuguese began this practice as soon as Brazil was discovered. A letter from Alberto Cantoes to the Duke of Ferrari written on the 17th of October 1501 published for the first time in HARRISSE'S Discovery of America has the following passage. "The king of Portugal has published a decree to the effect that all criminals liable to severe punishment, even the penalty of death, are not to be executed, but imprisoned for a time and then sent to the places and islands [lately] discovered. The condition is that later they will be allowed to return to Lisbon, receive a pardon for the offence committed and 500 ducats."

3 See the Frobisher Voyages, pp. 117, 118, 122.

triumphed as they have in Australia but the growth would have been much slower. A puritan foundation is better than a criminal one. That this plan of making the new world a criminal colony was not given up is shown by English legislation, at intervals, for a hundred years after this time. As it was a question of so much importance for the future of America and as some of its results are visible in America to-day a digression may be pardoned for briefly sketching the criminal in Virginia.

It is one of the disputed points in American history as to how far the plan of making Virginia a penal colony was carried out. It certainly was not to the extent originally intended and the general opinion now is that it had very little influence upon the development of the colony but it is interesting to us as an illustration of the way in which a prominent colonization idea of the Sixteenth century was carried out in the Seventeenth.

Sir Thomas Dale saw that the colony in its beginning stood greatly in need of men and that "on account of the difficulty of procuring them in a short time all offenders out of the common gaols should be sent for three years to the colony, that in this way the Spaniards peopled the Indies."¹ A very heroic remedy for the great need of a colony,—men. It will be seen that it was the same idea which the Portuguese had in the law of 1501 already quoted. This is interesting also as an invitation from a colonist for criminals to come, a position the reverse of what we find later. There is very little evidence that transportation was general in the early history of the colony. The records give us only isolated cases so that the proportion of criminals to the whole population must have been a very small one. But about 1650 the practice seems to have been entered upon more vigorously. An order of the Council of State was issued Sept. 9, 1651 "that the number of prisoners desired for Virginia be granted unto them as the committee shall think fit upon giving assurance to give them Christian usage."² The twenty-second of the same month, orders were issued that the number should not include lieutenants nor cornets

¹ Letter of Sir Thomas Dale, at that time Governor of Virginia, to the Earl of Salisbury, Aug. 1611, Cal. State papers. Colonial.

² Cal. State papers, Col. Sept. 9, 1651.

of horse nor any above that quality.¹ On the 13th of February, 1652, the Council sent notice to Governor Ayscue, "The fleet bound to Virginia will have informed him of the signal Victory at Worcester, and the prisoners on board that fleet will sufficiently inform him of their condition."² This last entry explains the two preceding, that is, Cromwell was using the new land as a convenient place for disposing of his war prisoners. That is a very different thing from transporting a man for crime against person or property. The war prisoner may make a good colonist; there is no reason why he should not. In this case the prisoners were taken to those who were in sympathy with them politically, as the Virginian colonists, unlike their neighbors at the north, never took kindly to Cromwell and the Commonwealth.

But that the idea of Hakluyt and Gilbert, of making the colonies a place for disposing of criminals, was not lost sight of was shown a little later, in an order of the council of State; "concerning the apprehension of lewd and dangerous persons, rogues, vagrants, and other idle persons who have no way of livelihood and refuse to work and treating with merchants and others for transporting them to the English plantations in America."³ But this was not kindly taken by the colonists in Virginia. The general court of the colony in 1670 called attention to the "Danger to the colony caused by the great number of felons and other desperate villains being sent over from the prisons of England, and prohibited the landing of any jailbird from and after the twentieth of January next upon pain of being forced to carry them to some other country."⁴ The next year the law for transporting criminals was repealed much to the joy of the Virginians. The descendants today together with the descendants of the "indented servants, (another very interesting class of people from a sociological standpoint and not very far from criminal if Harrison's and Fleetwood's stories of their life in London are true) form today the "Mountain Whites" or the "Poor Whites" of the Southern states.

1 Cal. State papers, Col. Sept 22, 1651.

2 Cal. Colonial, Feb. 13, 1652.

3 Order of the Council of State, Aug. 4, 1656. Cal. Col. of th's date.

4 Calendar, Col. Series, Apr. 20, 1670.

Returning now from this Virginian digression we may look at the second class: the poor who were not criminal but could not support themselves. A different class of people from the felons perhaps, but every motive for ridding the land of one class would apply equally well to the other. The descent from the beggar to the criminal was a gradual one. Then as now it was often an apparently unavoidable one. Often the poor man became a thief because circumstances were against him and he did not have the power to resist.¹

Another thought prominent in the minds of the forwarders of colonial plans was the effect it would have upon the naval power of the country and upon its shipping in general. It was at this time that England was beginning her career as a great sea might; a position which she has held without interruption from that time to the present. This was of course the normal development of the country. An island-kingdom with good harbors, it would naturally turn to the sea as its source of power and wealth. There was much truth in the words of Sir John Fortesque who said that when Elizabeth came to the throne she found the navy greatly decayed. "But that now she was able to match any power in Europe, yea, she hath with her ships compassed the whole world, she did find in her navy all iron pieces but she hath furnished it with artillery of brass."² Harrison also says that the Queen has the finest navy in Europe, and gives us an interesting description of it and comparison with the naval power before her reign.³

From its location, England's danger as well as strength would come from the sea, and so the increase of the sea might must be forwarded in every possible way. This was being done through trade with foreign powers. Any increase in the market would tend to increase the sea power and so the many attempts were made to find the Western passage to India and China without being compelled to depend upon the Spaniards and Portuguese or to

¹ Gilbut recognized this when he referred to them as those "who through want at home are induced to commit outrageous offences."

Hakluyt Navigations p. 22.

² Speech in Parliament in 1593, from Hazard's Parliamentary History 1,867.

³ Harrison, 287 ff.

take the long overland journey through Poland and Russia. By planting colonies in America which should trade only with England there would be given employment to men on the ocean and thus the naval strength be increased and employment given to men who needed it. This has been the continued policy of the English: colonization and foreign trade, two processes very closely connected and to which England owes very much of her greatness. They learned many lessons from Spain and this was one of them, that power came through sea might and colonies. This was a method by which a fleet could be raised, trained and kept in active service without any cost to the government,¹ yet could be used by the government when needed. These long voyages would raise up a skillful and strong navy as had been the result in the experience of the other nations.²

These early navigators, like Frobisher, the Hawkinses and Drake carried on a sort of privateer warfare against Spain in connection with their voyages of exploration. This was at the same time a cause of wealth to England and of loss to Spain. The ships engaged in the colonial trade were later a source of strength to England as Gilbert and others hoped they would be. It increased the navy upon which the nation could draw in case of emergency. Often a ship would be ready to sail with supplies for America but the government would need it and take it. There are records of a number of petitions for relief from parliament because men could not fill their American contracts since their ships had been impressed into government service. When England was engaged in a war, this seizure went so far that commerce between the two countries was practically stopped.

We may say in general that the influence was a reciprocal

1 "Also we shall here increase both our ships and mariners without furthering the state." Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Hakluyt's Navigations, p. 7. The manufacturing which would be forwarded by colonizing would have the same effect. Peckham in Hakluyt's Navigations, p. 174.

2 The result would be "The encrease of mariners and the skillfuller sorte and the proviſion of ſhippings as by the enſampl^e of Spaine and Portugal and the French is ſene, who have by means of their trafiques to the Indies and the Newfoundland a grete number of grete ſhips more than ere that tyme they had or could ſet on work." From the Lansdowne MSS. written before Frobisher's first voyage. Printed in Frobisher's Voyages p. 4. The author is not known.

one; but for the sea power of England, America would not have been English and certainly the colonial empire of England has done much to increase her might on the waters, an object which these colonization advocates had in mind.

Another idea was the power which would come to the country in its conflict with Spain if colonies could be successfully planted. This hatred of Spain was a prominent thought in the minds of the foremost men in England. No one will question but that it was with Sir Walter Raleigh the man whom Rosche calls "Der geistige Ahnherr der Vereinigten Staaten." He had seen enough of Catholic despotism and Spanish power in the Netherlands and France to make him cordially hate it¹. His wish was to have an Ocean Empire for England as strong as Spain's. He would have her also own gold and silver mines which should pour her treasures into the coffers of England. Raleigh was not the only one with these ideas, these were shared by all those sea rovers who were laying the foundation of England's supremacy on the ocean. To capture a Spanish treasure ship was regarded as fair booty.² These were the men who defeated the Armada and were ready to venture everything for the glory of England, especially if the venture was against Spain. They took from her the supremacy of the seas and made the United States of today possible and more than that, they made it Protestant. This feeling of hatred against Spain finds expression in the colonization ideas in the time of Elizabeth and even in the days of James in spite of the strong Spanish proclivities of the latter. In the House of Commons, in the picturesque language of the period, Virginia was spoken of as "The bridle for the Neopolitan Courser if our youth of England are able to sit him, for which they will be given golden Spurs".³ The same thought is expressed by

¹ Your lordship doth well understand and my affection toward Spain and how I have consumed the best part of my fortune hating the tyrannous prosperity of that estate."

Raleigh's letter to the Earl of Leicester March 29, 1586. From Wright II, 290.

² A letter from Sir Richard Greynville to Sec. Walsingham will show the spirit of these men. He writes that his voyage to the New World has been successful; that he has performed the action directed and taken possession of a new country [Virginia]. On his way back he captured a Spanish ship entering from San Domingo laden with ginger and sugar. Cal. State Papers, Col. Oct 29, 1585

³ Debate over Virginia and the Virginian Company. May 17, 1614. From Journal of the House for the above date.

Sir Thomas Dale, then Governor of Virginia. He calls it "one of the godliest and richest kindoms of the world, which being inhabited by the king's subjects will put such a bit in our ancient enemies mouth as will curb his hauteness of monarchy".¹ It was believed with reason that gold mines would be found here as they had been found in the southern part of the country and that England might gain the wealth from these which Spain obtained from her mines in Mexico and Peru. Again colonization would help the manufactures of the country by increasing its foreign trade. The condition of the manufacturing industries has already been referred to. A new outlet was greatly desired for their goods and here was the possibility of such an outlet. It was believed that settlements in the new country would open up two classes of trade; with the people of India and China who lived beyond the north west passage which they hoped to find and secondly with the Indians. That the settlement would be an aid to finding this passage was thoroughly and naturally believed²; if there were settlements on these lands they would be used as fitting out and supply stations, making it unnecessary to return to England for fresh provisions after each unsuccessful trip. It was believed that if trials enough were made that at last the right one of these passages might be found, and if this was once found the new avenues for trade would be of the greatest value.³ They might then obtain directly the silks, spices and other desired articles of luxury directly from the Orient and in their own ships, with their own seamen, without depending upon the Spaniards and Portuguese for them or the long overland journey. This of course was a plan never to be realized on account of the non-existence of this western passage, but the other direction in which it was hoped that their trade might be extended, the traffic with the Indians, was more successful. The abundance of fur bearing wild animals in the new land—the discoveries were mostly in the north—suggested at once a commodity which the Indians

¹ State papers, Col Jan. 3, 1616.

² Hakluyt Divers Voyages, p. 10.

³ Lansdowne MS. Hakluyt Soc. Vol 38 p. 12. "The which passage beinge knowe wold make a grete tra[de in] those weste partes, where be manye riche merchandizes".

could furnish them and through which a valuable trade might be carried on.¹ This was already done by the French who for many years did practically nothing else. It is even to-day the principal business in the more northern portions of the country, as the furs form a valuable, easily transportable and not lightly destructible article of commerce. In return for the furs and hides the English could pay the Indians in the manufactured articles of the kingdom for which at this time they sorely needed a market in this time when they were falling so much into decay.² Especially the cloth industry was in need of help, and as the Indians lived in the same climate of the English, they would certainly want cloth, if not at first, when they became civilized as had been the case in the West Indian island.³ In addition to the clothes there would be occupation for the children in making toys and the idle woman, "Which the realme may well spare," will also find work in curing feathers, dyeing cotton and caring for other products to be obtained from America.⁴

We have considered these colonization plans which were to improve England as a nation, that is, that a colony would be a means of disposing of the surplus and dangerous population, increase the naval power and the land power against Spain or other enemies and also help the trade and manufacturing industries of the nation. We now turn to another class of motives not so prominent, but which must be considered in order to understand these men, who were preparing the way, more fully. These are the

1 "In Paris I have seen in one man's house, called Perosse, the value of five thousand crowns worth of furs, * * * he gave me further to understand that he saw great quantities of Buffe Hides, which they brought home and sent into the low countreys to sell, all which commodities, with divers others of no lesse value are brought out of the most northerly part of those countreys whereunto our voyage of inhabiting is intended." From a letter of Hakluyt to Walsingham. *Divers Voyages*, page xi. Probably written in reference to Drake's voyage to be undertaken in 1585.

Davis also writes to Walsingham of the possibility of a large fur trade. *Wright II*, 245.

2 "And, questionlesse, hereby it will also come to passe, that all such towns and villages as both have been and now are utterly decayed and ruined shall by this means be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate." Peckham in Hakluyt's *Navigations*, p. 174.

3 Do. p. 174.

4 Do. p. 175.

philanthropic plans both for the improvement of the Indians, and for bettering the condition of the English poorer classes.

In this period of intense religious activity (using the word religious as it was understood at that time) we should expect to find it playing an important part in the colonization plans. It certainly did with the Spaniards and French. The priest always accompanied these early conquering expeditions and the part they took in the Spanish conquests has already been referred to. In the minds of the men of England who were preparing the way for her future greatness this idea was also prominent. This is the prime motive of the first book in English ever printed in America.¹ In it Eden urges the English to take up the work of colonizing and conversion as the Spaniards had done. He was an Englishman with thoroughly Spanish sympathies. He urges England to accept Philip as her king and praises his clemency in not enforcing his right to that office as he had the power to do.² The whole world was to be converted and England must do for the portion of it opposite her what the Spaniards had done for the southern section.³ If they could not be converted by peaceable means the same methods might be used which had pacified the Moors in Spain. To him the Spaniards were the ideal missionaries of the age, using the best methods for bringing the infidels to a knowledge of Christ.⁴ He thinks also that there are men

1 "The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India" by Richard Eden Anno 1555. A rare book in the original edition but now accessible in a fac-simile reprint edited by Edward Arber, Birmingham, 1885. An interesting book in showing pre-Elizabethan ideas about America as well as expressing the opinion of a thorough Catholic in the days of Mary. For an estimate of the value of Eden's work see Windsor III, 27.

2 In the passage p. 25, beginning "Stoope, England, Stoope."

3 "How much therefore is it to be lamented, and how greatly doth it sound to the reproach of all Christendome and especially to such as dwell nearest to these landes as we doo, that so large dominions of such tractable people are nowe known unto us, and that we have no respecte neyther for goddes cause nor for owne commodite and attempte summe voyage into these coastes to doo for our partes as the Spaniards have doone for theyres." Do. p. 55.

4 "They [the Spaniards] have taken nothyng from them but such as they themselves were wel wyllinge to depart with, and ac'ounted as superfluities as golde, perles, precious stones and such others. Their bondage is much better than their former liberty which was rather a horrible licentiousness than liberty; but nowe thanks be God, by the manhode and pollicie of the Spaniards, this develyche generation is so

enough to do this work who can well be spared.¹ He urges the nobility and men of wealth to undertake this work.

This idea of the conversion of the Indians is interesting rather as a Spanish product on English soil, than as having any connection with the religious motives of a generation later. His main thought is the missionary one. The pressure of population was not so strongly felt then, as later, and the England of Mary and Philip was not conducive to the production of men with broad statesman-like views.

These missionary views were by no means lost sight of under Elizabeth, though the pressure of the population problem and the need of new markets tended to keep religious motives in the background. Certainly the English religious plans were different from the Spanish catholics as to the way in which the Indians were to be converted. But to say that these early adventures, and especially the men who have already been referred to in this essay as the leaders of the colonizing enthusiasm, were influenced by no higher motive than the desire for gold is to be very far from the truth as Roscher has well pointed out.² On the contrary the purely philanthropic, religious thought of the conversion and civilization of the Indians was a prominent wish. Not the conversion as the Spaniards thought of it which should make the natives perpetually children under the care of the priests,³ but Christian ideals which would do credit to the missionary of the present day. A closer view of their thoughts will show this to be a fact. Naturally we should expect this to be a prominent aim with Richard Hakluyt. A thorough Englishman, he could see only deceit in the work which the Spaniards were doing for the conversion of the Indians.⁴ In his writing to induce men to plant

consumed, partly by the slaughter such as coulde by no means be brought to civillite, partly by reservynge such as were overcome in the wars, and convertynge them to a better mynde, that the prophecie may herein be fulfilled that the wolfe and the lambe shall feede together." Do. p. 50.

1 "The Sheepe of Europe shoulde by this tyme be so well fedde—that many shepherds myght be well spared to bee sent to other sheepe, which ought to be of the same foulde." Dr. p. 58.

2 Colonien, p. 183.

3 Merival's Lectures on Colonization p. 4.

4 Who [the Spaniard and Portuguese] pretending in glorious words that they made their discoveries chiefly to convert infidels to our most

colonies he made prominent other advantages more tangible and more readily appreciated by the average man, but he insisted that the lack of success of the English was due to their greed and selfishness, and that the only way to obtain success was to make the Kingdom of God the first object in their plans, for "Lasting riches wait upon them that are zealous, for the kingdom of Christ and the enlargement of his glorious Gospell."¹ He writes a letter to Raleigh on May 1st, 1587 in regard to the latter's colonization plans and what pleased him especially was, that "While the fewest number seek the glorie of God and the conversion of the poor and blinded infidels, yet because divers honest and well disposed persons have entered already into this your business, and that I know you meane hereafter to sende some such good churchmen thither, as may truely say with the Apostle to the Savages, Wee seeke not yours but you; I conceive great comfort of the success of your action."² Parkhurst, another man prominent in the colonizing work wrote to Hakluyt, consoling him for his lack of success and showing not only that these missionary desires of Hakluyt were known, but also that they were shared by others.³

Another laments that the success of the Cabot voyages was not followed up. That if it had been there might have been "copious congregations of Christians" at the present time, and adds that the conversion of the Pagans must be the chief intent of any who shall make any attempts at colonizing or else they cannot expect success.⁴

Great advantages were to come to the savages in addition to christianizing them, in that they were to be shown also the proper ways of cultivating their land, and to be taught the arts and

holy faith (as they say) in deed and truth sought not them but their riches. *Divers Voyages*, p. 13.

1 *Divers Voyages*, p. 13.

2 Hakluyt *Navigations* III, 302.

3 "I trust God hath made you an instrument to increase the number and to move men of power to redeem the people of Newfoundland and those parts from out of the captivitie of that spirituall Pharao, the devil." Hakluyt, *Navigations* III, 132.

4 Hales, in his account of Gilbert's unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony in Newfoundland in 1583. Hakluyt, *Navigations* III, 143.

sciences, but the reception of the gospel is always the chief good.¹ The same idea is expressed in the Lansdowne Manuscript with the addition that the naked barbarous people would be very apt to receive the gospel "Especiallie when hit shal not carie with hit the unnatural and incredible absurdities of papistrie."²

Other examples might be given of this same thought amongst men who were prominent in forwarding the early voyages. The effort was actually made to carry the gospel to the infidels in accordance with these plans. This was one of the purposes which Master Wolfall had in view as he sailed with Frobisher as the latter undertook his third voyage.³

We need not carry this subject farther; enough has been said to show that there were higher motives than personal gain. That these motives were not carried out, was due to the causes which defeated the other plans and which will be spoken of later.

The second thought prominent as philanthropic, was the help the colony would be to the poorer classes. These have already been referred to as people who could be well spared and as those who would be helped by the increase in manufactures. But in both the instances cited the relief which would come to England was the main thought, not the poor as individuals. But the individuals were not lost sight of though the good which would come to them, was not the first thought. Hakluyt looked upon the jails filled to overflowing and the executions for petty crimes

1 Of these advantages "First and chiefly in respect of the most happy and glad-some tidings of the most glorious gospel of our Savior Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falsehood to truth, from darkness to light, and they would be fully recompensed for all they gave us if we did nothing more for them. Peckham in Hakluyt's Navigations III, 178.

2 Hakluyt's Society, vol. 36, p. 5.

3 "This Mayster Wolfall being well seated and settled at home, in his own country with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation amongst the best, refused not to take in hand that painful voyage, for the only care he had to save soules and to reform the infidels if it were possible to Christianity . . . wherefore in this behalfe he may rightly be called a true pastor and minister of God's word, which for the profite of his flocke spared not to venture his own life." Best in Frobisher's Three Voyages, p. 252.

and wondered that someone did not relieve these poor people by establishing colonies.¹

Haies speaks of the riches of the new country and how easy it would be for men of the English nation to gain a living there if they could only go there.² The new market for woollen goods would relieve much of the misery now in the land by reviving manufacturing again.³ The same writer also speaks of the different kinds of work like the fisheries, felling trees, etc.; which could be well done by those who were not men of art or science.⁴ It would also give an opportunity for the employment of the poor children and women.⁵

✓ But if we were to stop with the patriotic and philanthropic we should fall short of a true estimate of the mixture of motives, which gave the first impulses to the early voyages. These two classes seem to me to be the more important ones with the men who were the prime movers. If we ask the motive for the interest of the majority in America at this time, we should not find it in the classes mentioned above. Undoubtedly the *majority* of the men who were interested in America were so, because of the gold they thought was there. But that is very far from saying that these men had the greatest influence in the final settlement of America. It is safe to say that one Hakluyt who, year after year was working steadily to advance the interest in America, had more influence than a thousand men who invested their money in some expedition for gold and when it was over, and a failure, forgot as quickly as they could that there was any such place. Even Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, which was apparently only to find gold, may have had a deeper and more patriotic motive in it.⁶ We

1 In his Epistle dedicatorie to Philip Sidney in *Divers voyages* p. 8.

2 Hakluyt *Navigations* III, 144.

3 Peckham in Hakluyt, *Navigations* III, 174.

4 Do. p. 175.

5 Do. p. 175.

6 This Guiana expedition of Raleigh is one of the unsolved problems in his life. Whether he expected to find any gold mine, or whether he went primarily to fight the Spaniards we cannot know. It may be that the main object of the expedition was to obtain pardon for himself. He was a state prisoner at the time.

know that his idea was the nobler one of founding a colony of homes in his Virginian attempt. Raleigh did not seek the gold for himself alone but for England. Of his cordial hatred to Spain there can be no doubt, and he saw that one of the means which enabled Spain to keep her power in Europe, was partly at least from the stream of easily gotten, ill-gotten wealth which flowed in to her from her American mines. He would fight Spain with her own weapons. He would establish such a source of supply for England. Whatever faults he had—and he certainly had his full share—a lack of patriotism was not one of them. England had always the first place in his mind. The other expedition, which was primarily a gold searching adventure, was the second voyage of Frobisher. Upon his first voyage, when he was trying to find a passage to India, by accident a sailor found a lump of quartz which contained gold.¹ This was enough to excite great interest upon the return of the ship to England. A new expedition was fitted out to bring home loads of the ore to be refined, and the list of the subscribers show how thoroughly the idea was taken up by the nobility.² But can we blame them or was there anything inherently wrong in this effort? The land was claimed by them, and they needed the money. It was far different with the Spaniards in their search for gold. With them it was robbery by means of the most brutal form of slavery. Fortunately the expedition was a flat failure. The sand was yellow but did not contain gold enough to pay for working it. The first permanent colony sent to Virginia had the gold fever. They were "gentlemen" of broken fortunes with very little material in them for a colony. But after they had searched in vain for the yellow metal, they turned to agriculture. Undoubtedly this idea was present but as we have shown it was not the motive of those who were the most influential. Opposition to this idea of making gold the prime object appears as early as 1564. John Hawkins objected to this great thirst for the precious metals and advocated Florida as a

1 Frobisher's Voyages p. 75.

2 The first name on the list is that of Queen Elizabeth who advances one thousand pounds. Then come the names of her private council. Frobisher p. 107.

good place for colonization although lacking in "plentie of golde and silver" and advocated cattle raising as a sure means of profit in its place.¹ The history of this industry on the great plains of South America and in the Western States of the Union show that his suggestion was a wise one. Another suggestion from him along the same line was, that these colonizing plans should be undertaken by the princes rather than by private individuals,² a thought repeated in meaning at least by Lord Bacon who saw that a colony must not be looked upon as a money making scheme.³ A colony ought not to be expected to give any return during the first generation, but might possibly after that. With the gold seeker the return desired was an immediate one. The really influential men were led by other desires than that of becoming suddenly rich, and so they tried to discourage mere gold hunting. It was for years believed that the Spanish and English expeditions were alike in their objects. Even so careful a man as the English historian Green says that the early expeditions were for gold "but luckily no gold was found and the nobler spirits amongst them turned to thoughts of colonization."⁴

Taking into consideration what has been said we may form an estimate of what these men wished for a colony. Unfortunately we cannot compare it with the ideas in the time of the Cabot because from that time we have only the charter from Henry VII and with English conservatism the charters of Elizabeth are almost the same. Merely a right to conquer in the name of the ruler with some regulations and privileges but nothing about planting colonies. As we have seen the colonies planned

1 "I am of the opinion by that which I have seen in the other island of the Indians where such increase of cattle hath been, that of twelve head of beasts in twenty five years did in the hides of them raise 1000£ profite yearly, that the increase of cattle only would raise profite sufficient for the same." Hawkin's voyages, p. 62.

2 Do. p. 62.

3 *Sintque potius ex nobilibus et generosis quam mercatoribus: Hi enim lucro praesenti plus satis inhiant.* Sermones no. 33.

4 Green's history of the English people, p. 491.

This subject of the influence of the gold motive upon the English is treated by Roscher both in "Zur Gesch d. eng. Volkswirtschaftslehre" and his *Colonien*.

under Elizabeth were entirely different from the Spanish as we have already noticed in a number of cases. The Spanish idea was to treat the new country as a military province in which the laws and officers of the law should be Spanish and the province be ruled from Madrid. The natives were made slaves or at best attached to the soil and used to increase the wealth of their owners. The English, as we have seen, were influenced by higher and more statesman-like motives in their ideas of what a colony should be. The latter would form them along the same lines as the Greeks had theirs, and we have seen that the impelling motive was practically the same—over population. The simile of the swarming of bees was used by Hakluyt as an illustration of what human beings should do when their home land became too crowded.¹ The new country was to be another England in which the laws and privileges of the old were to be kept, a country to be closely bound to the old by commercial ties, to be sure restrictive but liberal for the times. It was to be a patriotic movement for the good of the English nation but also philanthropic in its plans for the poor and the Indians. For the poor by giving to them new opportunities for gaining a living under more favorable circumstances than were possible in England; for the Indians by bringing to them Christianity and the civilization of Europe.

We have considered these colonization plans and ideas as they were prominent in the time of Elizabeth; what these men thought and what they wished to accomplish. We are also confronted by the fact that no colony was established till years after this time.² Was this work which these men attempted, in which they spent their time and money, and some of them their labors in vain? Hakluyt, ever tireless in his efforts to turn the thoughts of his countrymen to the new land beyond the sunset, died before success was assured.³

1 "Wee reade that the bees when they grow to bee too many in their own hives at home are wont to bee led out by their captaines to swarme abroad and seeke themselves a new dwelling place." *Epistle dedicatorie in Divers Voyages.*

2 The colony at Jamestown was founded in 1607.

3 In 1616. The Virginian colony was in existence but very weak. For years after this time its only product of any importance was tobacco.

Raleigh who spent his fortune in this effort only succeeded in placing a colony in Virginia to die of hunger or to be slaughtered by the Indians.¹ Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the brave true hearted commander, died off the coast of the country, where he had in vain tried to plant a colony, and so on with others of the time. As far as seeing their plans realized was concerned they were disappointed. The cause of this failure is not difficult to find. There were in fact many causes now very plain to us. They underestimated the cost of such expeditions in time, money and men. The projectors] were] too often anxious for immediate returns. Richard Hawkins, in a burst of anger at the cowardly desertion of a ship by which his expedition was made fruitless, says in bitter words, that the expeditions and peopleings of the English failed through lack of obedience and from insubordination of that success which followed the success of the Spaniards.²

Another cause, and apparently the reason for the failure of Raleigh's colony was from the Spanish wars, which not only made crossing the seas dangerous but kept every available seaman and ship at home as a defense against Spain, thus making it impossible for supplies to be taken to the colonies.

Thus the reign of Elizabeth passed away, and the English had in America only a series of disappointing failures. Some brave lives were lost and much property and all that there was to show for it was—experience. With this the essay might close if there were no results beyond what these men themselves saw. But

in spite of all that could be done to introduce other industries and in spite of the opposition of two kings. This tobacco was sold in England by prohibiting the raising of any England and the importation of Spanish. The removal of these restrictions would have ruined the colony. This tobacco question is the most important in the early history of the colony. It can be very fully traced in the colonial series of the State papers.

1 He spent \$40,000 on these schemes and finally leased his patent to a company. See Winsor III, 105.

2 "The observation of Sir Richard Hawkins' knight, in his voyage into the South Sea, Anno Domini, 1593."

Vol. 57 of the Hakluyt Society. This spirit of mutiny meets us so often in the early voyages that we see the force of Hawkins' complaint. One of Frobishers ships deserted on his first voyage and took back a report that he was cast away. Frobisher, 71. Davis largest ship mutinied and returned home in 1586. So Hudson's crew mutinied and turned him adrift with his son and seven men in an open boat.

fortunately that was not all. The years of labor had not been in vain. The work which these men began has never ceased. What they really desired was accomplished though they did not live to see it, and in all its details it was not exactly what they planned. Soon the Virginian colony increased in strength, and in 1620 the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth; ten years later came the Puritans and with the well-to-do intelligent Puritans, the English colony in America was no longer an experiment or a subject of doubt, but an established fact.

Under James I, Hakluyt and other friends of colonization obtained the charters for the London and Plymouth companies, and under these the colonies just referred to were established, but into these we need not enter. The main point is that these were the results of the work which had been done before this time in the reign of Elizabeth.

As we close our consideration of this subject of English beginnings in America, the question naturally comes to us, What would have been the result if these men had not turned their thoughts in this direction? What if England had taken no more interest in America than the Dutch or Swedes did? A condition which was not improbable nor impossible. At the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth there seemed just as much probability of the Dutch—a strong commercial nation—settling in America, as there was that the English would. Or what if English interest in America had waited as long after this time as it had before since the first attempt at exploration? Another position not at all impossible. It would only have done like nearly every other nation in Europe. As we think of the probable result of these alternatives we can more easily appreciate the real services of these men whose work we have been considering, who turned the attention of the people to this subject. Of course what the result would have been we can not say exactly, but the most probable result would have been a catholic America in the north as it is in the south. The condition of affairs in America at that time will help us to understand the subject. The English to be sure claimed the Atlantic coast because discovered by the Cabots. The Spaniards also claimed the whole of the new world by right of the discovery

of Columbus and subsequent navigators and explorers, and this right had been confirmed by Alexander VI. Their explorations into the interior of the country prior to the settlement of the English had been extensive. In fact on the site of Jamestown the first English settlement in America, the Spaniards under Aylton had founded the settlement of San Miguel eighty years before.¹ At the same time the interior was explored and a few years later in a search for a western passage, the coast was explored as far as Labrador.² From this it will be seen that the Spaniards not only claimed the entire country but had actually explored and settled the lands claimed and settled later by the English. But this settlement was abandoned and the English settled on territory claimed by Spain, the Spanish settlements on the coast not being farther north than Florida. As to the feeling of Spain toward the English at this time we need only recall the Armada and remember that England was the stronghold of protestantism while in Spain the counter reformation had its greatest power. What Spain wished to do with protestantism on the new continent is sufficiently shown in the treatment of Coligny's Huguenot colony in Florida who were murdered "not as Frenchmen but as heretics." It might be said that the power of Spain began to decline after the defeat in 1588, and that she was no longer able to carry out aggressive colonizing plans. Here again we come upon the close connection between the sea power of the English and her colonizing plans. Each made the other stronger. The men who were forward in the voyages to America were in the thick of the Armada fight. Frobisher, Drake and Hawkins were there commanding ships. The growth of the English sea-power which took from Spain the supremacy of the seas cannot be separated from the colonizing plans. Each made the other possible.

But even supposing that the Spanish power did begin to wane with 1588, it still was a strong nation with strong colonies. The colonies increased in strength independently of the mother country or rather in spite of her, till South America was nearly covered

1 J. S. Shea in Winsor II, 241.

2 Do. p. 242.

by the Spanish rule. Why should not the same phenomenon take place in the northern half of the hemisphere. Why should not the Spanish power extend north from Mexico and Florida, and east from the Mississippi until the whole of the present United States should be included in the Spanish possessions? There was nothing to prevent it if the country remained unoccupied or if it were occupied by some weaker nation. The actual settlement by the Spaniards might have been slow, but the question is not whether it would have been settled by the Spaniards at all or not, but whether it would have been under Spanish rule. The evil thing in the South American states today is not that they are inhabited by Spaniards, but that the rulers are Spaniards with Spanish ideas of government.

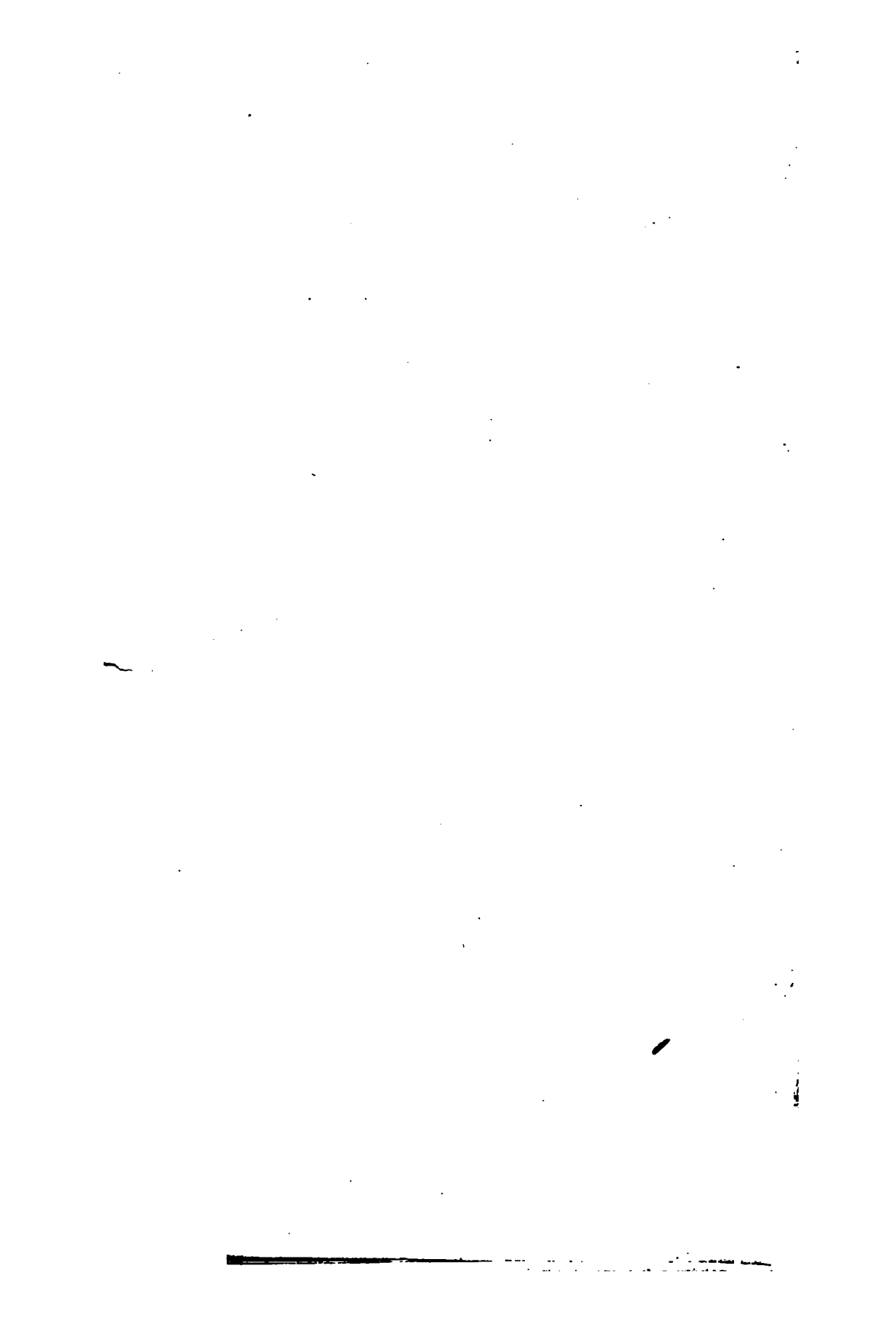
It is possible that even granting a settlement of the United States by the Spaniards, the natural advantages of the country might have attracted in time the Germanic nations who could have put these advantages to use; that is emigration might have gradually changed the make up of the population so that in time there would have been a preponderance of the Germanic element. This might have taken place with a Spanish settlement of the country except for the Spanish government which is enduring. Had the Spanish government been established in the north, we might have had there another series of fighting republics like those which today in South America disgust every lover of republican institutions. But before that, would come the inquisition and the strong Catholic rule as it was in Mexico, then the Puritans and the Pilgrims would never have settled in New England. They never would have been allowed to do so by the Spanish rulers, and it would have been the last place where they would have had any desire to settle, for a sharper contrast than a Puritan and a Spanish catholic it would be hard to find. The Spaniard represented the very oppression multiplied many times which the Puritan left England to escape. Imagine Governor John Endecott, that Puritan of Puritans, who cut the red cross from the British flag because it was suggestive of papacy, living under Spanish rule. America today would have been entirely different in laws, institutions and religion if the Spanish had gained a foothold there instead of the

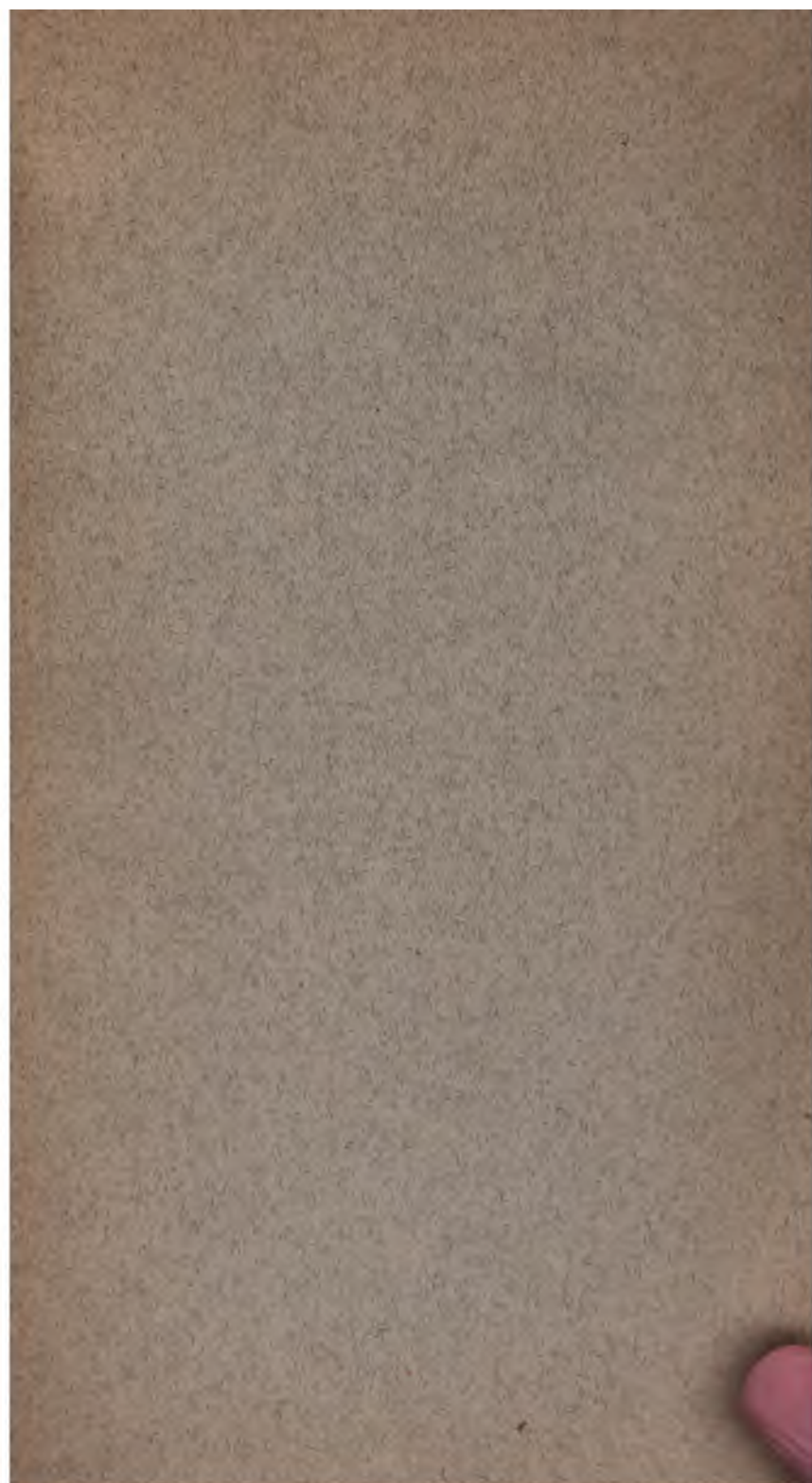
English. The above seems to be the most reasonable historical probability had the Spanish added North America to their already vast colonial system. It probably never would have been largely settled by Spaniards but remained a province as today India is of England. But thanks largely to the efforts of the men whose work we have been considering, the English settled in the north, and today on the new continent the same features are present as in Europe. In the north the nations which accepted the reformation and all that it meant. In the south those who rejected it and preferred to live in the middle ages. One is progressive the other retrogressive or at a standstill. That the result is not due to natural advantages we may see by going back three hundred years when the condition of affairs was reversed; then the wealth and prosperity was in the south. The same contrast presents itself in America, but it might not have been so had the English delayed long enough to enable Spain to gain permanent control.

And with this I close. The object of the essay has been accomplished if I have succeeded in presenting the service of these men who were working for the glory of England and unconsciously making a protestant America possible. I have tried to show the principles which governed them as well as the way in which they did their work and that also with these men in the reign of Elizabeth is the real beginning of American History.

VITA.

I, Curtis Manning Geer, was born August 11, 1864, at Hadlyme, Conn., U. S. A. After preparatory studies at Bacon Academy, Colchester, Conn., I entered Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., from which I graduated in 1887 with the degree of B. A. I then entered Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., completing the course of study in 1890, and in June of the same year was ordained and installed pastor of the First Congregational Church in East Windsor, Conn., where I remained two years. During this time I continued my connection with Hartford Seminary as special student, working the first year in Sociology with Dr. Taylor, and during the second year I was a member of Dr. Walker's historical Seminar. I then was appointed by the Seminar incumbent of a fellowship for foreign study. Matriculating at Leipzig in the fall of 1892, I have studied here since then, this being my fourth semester. My work has been principally in history and economics and I have heard courses of lectures by Dr. Barth, Professors Arndt, Bucher, Friedberg, Gregory, Hauck, Marcks, v. Miaskowski, Roscher, Sohm and Volkelt. I have also been a member of the historical seminars of Dr. Gess and Professor Hauck.





Fuller in 1871-24

Prescriptions